/158 cont./

T. Religion, Cult, Mythology

756 [789] The Bushman doctor conjures up rain by scattering on the ground a kind of red earth which he fetches from afar and carries about with him.

I regard the doctors, who take the place of sorcerers, as quite experienced people who have a considerable gift for observation. At the same time, they throw plenty of sand in their [775] [769] clients' eyes. The soul of the deceased does not die. The Bushmen have great fear of the dead and even of the place of death.

753 Illnesses that give rise to much pain and complaining on the part of the sufferers are regarded as having been caused by a higher power (demons); others are regarded as natural illness.

755 The doctor practices exorcism by saying magical charms over the sick person and finally, with the motion of a juggler, flinging to the ground a little piece of wood or the like which is supposed to have come from the body of the patient and to have caused the illness.

776 The only thing that I was able to establish concerning their religious notions, despite weeks of fruitless endeavor, /159/ is that a higher power exists which may be harmful to men and may cause them to perish from serious illnesses. This higher power, which is feared, dwells "above." I could not get them to do more than point upward in the direction of the sky, except for the statement that the feared power is far beyond the treetops. [Fig. 14 appears here.]

756 The doctor is both physician and sorcerer. He is probably also a priest, for whenever I asked questions concerning religion and the like, I was always referred to the doctor, who supposedly was informed about these matters.

Not every settlement has a doctor. Between Oas, Rietfontein, and Ganab (100 kilometers north of Rietfontein) there was supposedly only one.

The doctor has his head shaved smooth. In addition, he is said to wear ornaments that no other man may use.

Boys who have been apprenticed to a doctor for many years may later, when they have become older, replace their master.

In the treatment of the sick, charlatanism seems to be mixed

[Text continues on page 56]

[43 cont.]

423 614 769 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's territory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them. The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 614 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, includes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place.

13. Illnesses and Treatment

826 The anatomical knowledge of the Bushmen is quite extensive as a result of their way of life as hunters.

[761] The heart is regarded as the seat of life, and the breath has some connection with the heart. Their surgical knowledge is 752 757 confined to the extraction of thorns by means of an awl-like instrument and to the relatively effective bandaging of hand and leg 278 fractures. Their supply of medicines, on the other hand, is very limited. In what follows, I shall list the common illnesses and their treatment.

Eye Inflammation

752 Both dry and exudative eye inflammations, caused by sand and irritating grass seeds, are extremely widespread, and blear eyes are the rule among older people. These diseases, however, are not nearly as grave among the !Kung living in the forest as, say, among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari or among those [826] of Naukluft. Among the latter, blear eyes are even regarded as signs of beauty in young girls. Ordinary eye inflammations that pass in a short period of time mean nothing. They are treated by [753] rubbing with fat. If the ailment lasts for a longer period of time, then //Gauab [Fig. 16 appears here] certainly had something to [755] do with it; the doctor is called in and, after some treatment, produces a "little black medicine" from the eye.

[58 cont.]

775 From there they make their rounds. They always return to their
769 graves. Hence, a Bushman always makes a detour around a grave.
He does not point at a grave with his finger, and he does not call to a companion: 'There is a grave!' A great detour is made around the area where there is a grave. When a Bushman unexpectedly passes a grave, he puts a stone on it. That is a greeting for the dead person. In so doing, one makes the grave more secure against wild animals."

769 From the region of Foxhof I have the following informa-
775 tion to add:

"The Gauab that arises from the flesh of the corpse remains seated by the grave. When a relative passes by and the Gauab is sitting out in the open, the Gauab thinks: I know this person well; why is he passing by here without giving me any water. Then the Gauab becomes angry and makes him sick. Then when the doctors sing, they recognize what the trouble is and say: Today you passed by the grave of N. and did not give anything. Tomorrow morning very early you must take water and
775 an ostrich egg and place them by the grave. Such a Gauab also
787 goes hunting, kills game, makes a fire, cuts open the game, takes the fat, and brings it to the doctors while they are singing.
[756] The Gauab, whom the other people cannot see, sits down at some distance from the dancers. The doctor sees him, however, and goes to the Gauab. The latter tells him where the game lies, and the doctor tells this to the other people, who fetch the game and praise the Gauab.

775 "The stars are the campfires of the Gauab.

"The Gauana take the souls that they have stolen to their village and then back to the grave. The people often hear a voice in the veld; this is the Gauab calling, and on their way they find a piece of dead game. When the Gauab is out hunting and has gone too far from his grave, he must sleep in a tree. Some of the souls stolen by the Gauab are brought to the captain of the Gauana. The souls that are taken there again become actual persons up above with the captain of the rain. The others, however, are the little Gauab who go hunting here."

[114] The observations made by Bleek (3) 50 years ago seem to
776 be especially significant.

3. W. H. J. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd,

[113]

[58 cont.]

[113] Specimens of Bushmen Folklore, London, 1910-11, pp. 10-13.

776 be especially significant. The !Kung at that time told of a being called /Chue, who transforms itself in turn into various fruit trees and veldkost plants, into a Herero, etc. One day he transformed himself into a //gui tree, his wife ate of it, the tree disappeared, and /Chue changed into a fly. Another time he even became a waterhole, then again a gecko; at night [59] he always changes back into a little human being. The Herero look for him, but cannot find him. /Chue then makes a fire and dies. His father sees this and then moves to his homeland on a large mountain called //Noa. We shall probably not go wrong if we identify this /Chue with Huwe. This Huwe, as is known, is sometimes equated with the great captain ǂ'u. In this old setting he also has distinct traits of Heiseb.

782 The !Kung who were W.H.J. Bleek's informants were also familiar with a prayer song addressed to the new moon. In accompaniment, they blew on trumpets made of antelope horns. (Bleek-Lloyd, ibid., p. 15.)

[534]

787 The old !Kung called the prophesy sticks /Chu, which evidently is the same name again as that of the great captain and is in agreement with Dornan's report concerning the Masarwa that Modimo himself spoke from the prophesy sticks.

755 Vedder reports that in case of illness a messenger is sent
769 to an ancestor's grave and prays: A dsi-dsi mi !hâ tĭ /ǂ'ai-a? (Why is my son ill?) ǂnu /kôã (to live in health).

774 While my informants denied the presence of any animistic
825 conceptions, the old !Kung believe that certain snakes, lizards,
775 and antelope found in the vicinity of graves represent spirits of the
171 dead (1), as they do among the Bantu.

1. W.H.J. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd, ibid., p. 430.

[59 cont.]

19. Dance Songs

I was able to take down a few dances:

1. Dance Song for the Wedding

535
539 ee ga ee /nuia khe e /goaro be We are singing of the child. (Repeat.)

2. Pantomimic Eland Dance

ǂ'ai /nui !gaa u da !gaa Runner with arrow poison in his body
ts-ii !gowara //goe Do you run with a heavy head.

The elephant dance, curiosly enough, is sung with the refrain: "The Ovambo girl goes around between the men."

524 The !Kung also have a war game. Two parties stand facing each other some distance apart and shoot bird arrows at each other. The Bushmen are very skillful in evading these arrows.

622
782
769 Farmer Friedrich near Duwib reported the following to me concerning the Hei//om near Tsintsabis: When the village elder dies, his successor makes an incision on his forehead between the eyebrows and squirts the blood toward the east; then he cuts his little finger and sprays the blood toward the west. This is done so that the dead chief in the beyond will see to it that those remaining behind will always have veldkost.

782
881 At the girls' initiation the spirits of the east and west are implored in song to let the young woman always find veldkost.

787
695
684 "If after a hunting expedition of several days the husband suspects that his wife has been unfaithful to him, he can clear up the situation by means of an 'ordeal.' He takes a resinous root that burns like a candle with a bright flame, in the evening places it in the entrance of his, that is, his wife's hut, and observes the direction in which the long flame points. If the flame points into the interior of the house, adultery occurred during his absence. If it points outside, his wife is innocent."

[59 cont.]

20. Law

671 The norms of natural law among the Bushmen are the
627 same as among us. The family head is at the same time the supreme judge. Since even the nearest kin group is regarded in a sense as a foreign state, however, the boundaries between law, war, and vengeance are exceedingly fluid. The domain of law, therefore, is actually confined to the family. Since the only
[681] punishment that can be effectively inflicted is the death penalty, it is rarely applied among married men, [60] for the judges and executioners must provide for the condemned man's survivors. In olden times the women condemned to death were burned or beaten to death with the kirri, and the men were killed with the poisoned arrow.

423 The right to personal possession of utilitarian objects, honey, and certain types of veldkost is strictly respected. The soil is common property of the kin group, as is any big game
[224] that is killed. If a wounded animal dies in the domain of the neighboring kin group, the hunter must go there and report it.
[578] The dead prey must then be divided. Since, however, there are some unpaired organs, fighting and killing easily arise concern-
[627] ing them. Blood vengeance is practiced, but can be resolved through negotiation.

423 "Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited
614 from ancient times. The territory is called Gâo and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

[361] "There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 1,000 [sic] kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions, come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

769 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's terri-
614 tory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them. The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's

[60 cont.]

769 territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced
614 by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, in-
614 cludes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place (1).

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 434.

775 As has already been said, the Bushman does not believe
[626] in punishment after death. On the other hand, he is convinced that the evil that he himself has done will befall him or his dogs in the same way.

681 In former times banishment from the kin group was likewise
648 customary, and the exile would soon perish, since the Bushman
177 cannot survive by himself in the wilderness for any length of time. Nowadays, such individuals, just like those who were expelled from the Bantu tribes, move to land owned by Europeans and find work there. It is obvious that they do not help to improve the reputation of the Coloreds.

695 In cases of doubt, the Bushman swears by the great captain: nu X'u.

681 Instead of formal expulsion, the people may boycott out-
762 laws, who are thereby driven to such despair that they commonly commit suicide. Suicides also occur for other reasons.

21. Conflicts with Europeans

648 Before the police zone boundary was erected, the Bushmen found themselves in a latent state of war with their neighbors. Part of their list of sins will be cited here.

According to Toke, the !Kung near Keibeb in 1925 attacked eight Barotse [Lozi] and killed them, and purportedly ate them. Later, three Ovambo were attacked by surprise, killed,

MASARWA OR OVONGGO BUSHMEN

[64 cont.]

600 769 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

787 [774] Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the [825] male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals, [824] from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe [776] that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

[113] 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

606 551 602 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo

105 101 delta, J. Seiner reports:

"The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting. [563] The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe [144] may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease, AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY,

NARON
NOGAU
≠AUIN

[75 cont.]

754 411 Among the Naron, according to Miss Bleek, the Bushman revolver is also in use. The doctors fight one another with it. Such an arrow is secretly shot at the opponent's kaross, and through the magic emanating from the arrow, the enemy falls sick and dies.

8. Death and Burial

761 The Nogau have the following conceptions: Death is caused by Gauab, who steals the soul and makes a little Gauab of it. The dead person is buried immediately; there is no 764 dancing, only weeping. The corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on its side with the head toward the east. Only the sleeping blanket is placed in the grave; the weapons that were left behind are kept by the brothers. The food that the deceased was carrying with him is thrown on the grave. Then bushes are placed on it.

[775] In their opinion the soul of the deceased, which has been 769 transformed into a Gauab, wanders around near the grave; therefore they detour around it. When a Nogau Bushman passes the grave of a tribal member, he prays to him for help in hunting so that the children will grow fast and become fat. He says:

[539] "I do not know how it will go with me
With the food, how it will go with me with the food;
I do not know what I should do to get something to eat,
Let us eat and become big."

775 On the other hand, there is also the belief that the great Gauab who kills a human being eats the heart or keeps it in cold water and finally makes a new Bushman of it. Among the Naron 764 the corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on his side with the face toward the east. These customs are by no means always observed, however, especially when the ground is hard. The Naron do not fear the spirits of the dead, although the doctors 769 787 see them, as do those men "who have incisions between the eyebrows." As we know from the Nogau, this includes all who have taken part in the boys' initiation. Women can never see such spirits.

Among all three tribes, old people are exposed to die.

888

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Gam when four bands danced together. Demi was the smallest Bushman we had seen in the region. He was bedecked with many beads and walked with a prance like a bantam cock. He had seen *//Gauwa* in the darkness, he told us. He had confronted him and driven him off with imprecations and sticks. I asked him to tell me what *//Gauwa* looked like. *//Gauwa* is as big as a mouse and has legs like a mouse, he promptly told me, showing me a pipe about four inches long to demonstrate *//Gauwa*'s size. (Demi did not say *//Gauwa* was a mouse; he said ' as big as '.) *//Gauwa* is covered all over with short yellow hairs. This bright, prancing little man had seen a little god. None of the other medicine men saw *//Gauwa* as small as that.

Gao Scarf sees *//Gauwa* regularly. He is like a man in form, but not such as we. He is about two and a half feet tall. (Gao demonstrated with a stick.) He has yellow hair over his whole body. He does not speak as we speak. He says, ' *hu hu hu* ', like the medicine men when they are performing a ceremony, but softly. Only medicine men hear him and understand him.

Another Gao said that *//Gauwa* is about a foot tall and the colour of a wart hog. He has the form of a man.

When Gao Medicine is in trance, he often sees *//Gauwa*. He is a being about the height of a guinea-fowl, grey in colour like the bark of the ubiquitous camelthorn tree. But to Gao, *//Gauwa* is not clearly visible; he is like a mist.

/Ti/kay claimed to me that he was ' young in medicine ' and had never seen *//Gauwa*, as he had claimed that he had never seen *≠Gao/na*. This was an engaging torsion of the truth. I myself had many times seen /Ti/kay appear to confront *//Gauwa* during his curing. /Ti/kay was to me the most spectacular of all the medicine men in performing the ceremony. He did not fear to scream into the shadows, ' *Nonabe!* You have brought a bad medicine. It is going to kill someone. Take it back.' The people, I am sure, did not believe that he was ' young in medicine ' and that he did not see *//Gauwa* when the other medicine men did. /Ti/kay, as I think is apparent even in these brief accounts of him, was something of a deviant. I believe that he contradicted other informants because his nature habitually drove him to oppose others and that, at the same time, he deliberately and rationally tried to deceive me and lead me astray, first for one reason, then another. He was jealous of our harmonious relations with *≠*Toma and Gao Medicine. We were pleased and grateful to them when they would work with us and he refused, and this made him spiteful. Also, due to some influence which we do not know about, he may actually believe some of the things he told us, such as that *//Gauwa* lives in the east instead of the west. We were never certain about him.

The *//Gauwasi*

The Nyae Nyae /Kung believe strongly and vividly in the existence of spirits of the dead, the *//gauwasi*, who live immortal lives in the sky with *≠Gao/na*, doing his bidding. The *//gauwasi* come to earth and enter into the affairs of men when *≠Gao/na* so commands them. The /Kung fear them, pray to them to invoke their mercy or sympathy, exhort them in anger. The concept of having special relations with their own ancestors or of worshipping ancestors is lacking.

The people claim that they fear to speak of the *//gauwasi* lest they call attention to themselves or offend the spirits. They say it is a ' death thing to speak of them much ',

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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year or two, during which the dead person is never spoken of but with veneration and tears.[1]

Several details in this account—the anointing, perfuming, and examination of the body, as well as the burning of the hut—are not met with in the descriptions of other independent observers, who as a rule remark merely that the corpse is buried with all its possessions and the place then deserted.[2] On the other hand, it is certain that many of the Southern Bushmen heaped stones on the graves of their dead. This custom may have originated merely from the desire to protect the body from the ravages of hyenas and other wild animals. It has, however, sometimes been given a religious significance owing to the fact, recorded by several of the older observers, that passing natives would always add a branch or a stone to the heap. It is unfortunately not always possible to gather whether the natives referred to were Bushmen or Hottentots. The latter certainly have various practices and beliefs connected with these grave heaps, of which the usage just mentioned is one of the most common, but there is no fully reliable evidence of anything similar being observed by the Southern Bushmen.

In excavated graves the corpse is sometimes found lying on its left side, with one or two large flat stones placed directly upon it. The interest attaching to these "burial stones" lies in the fact that in a few cases, in association with cave burials along the south coast, they have been found with figures of human beings painted upon them in the typical Bushman style. It would be unprofitable to speculate upon the significance of such stones, as there is no record of any Bushmen having explained them to our authorities; but that they were related to some definite belief can hardly be doubted.[3]

The Namib Bushmen, according to Seydel, as a rule bury a dead person on the morning following his death, and in any case not before the death has been confirmed by the nearest neighbours. The relatives of the dead man and the neighbours accompany the corpse to the grave, uttering or singing a funeral dirge. The grave

[1] *Voyage d'Exploration au . . . Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, 303–4.

[2] Campbell, *Missionary Travels in S. Africa*, 440; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 289; Fritsch, *Drei Jahre in Südafrika*, 242. The account given by Hahn (op. cit., 121) is obviously derived from Arbousset; that in Stow (op. cit., 126–9) from Arbousset, Campbell and Sparrman. The English translation of Arbousset (p. 369) renders "grossièrement parfumée" as "coarsely embalmed", which, as it is repeated in Stow, may have given rise to some misconception. There is nothing in the nature of real embalming among the Bushmen.

[3] Fritsch, loc. cit.; Haughton, in *Trans. R. Soc. S. Afr.*, xiii, 105–6; FitzSimons, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx, 301, 341.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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764

buchu on the grave and says *tabets*, good-bye. All then move to another locality and avoid the spot for a couple of years; no one will remain in the vicinity, owing to fear of the ghost. After the funeral there are no further mourning rites.[1]

The burial customs of the Auen appear to be generally similar to those of the Naron.[2] The Kung bind the corpse in the same contracted position, and according to Lebzelter also smear it with ochre. The grave, round, shallow, and narrow, is dug by the men preferably under a termite hill, but if there is none in the vicinity any other suitable spot is chosen. The bottom is covered with branches, over which is spread the grass upon which the dead person last slept. The corpse is buried lying on one side; Vedder states that it faces no special direction, Lebzelter that the back is towards the east. Women are buried with their ornaments, men have their weapons placed on the breast, and children their small bows or digging-sticks. The grave is never again visited by the relatives; if their way leads past it, they go round in a tangent.[3]

In the Eastern Kalahari the Bushmen likewise often bury dead people in the termite ant-hills that are so common all over the country. A hole is excavated in which the body is placed in a contracted position. The grave is then surrounded with a fence of thorn bushes to protect it from the jackals and hyenas. The "tame" Bushmen now also bury their dead in much the same manner as do the heathen BeChwana. A round hole three or four feet deep is excavated, in the side of which a recess is made. The corpse is placed in this recess, either sitting or lying on the left side, with the knees doubled up to the chin. The grave, as a rule, is near to the place where the dead person lived. Sometimes they do not take the trouble to excavate the grave, but use an ant-hill or the cleft of a rock. Here also there is apparently no fixed orientation of the corpse, for when Dornan asked his informants if they placed it with the face to the east, some said they did, others said they did not. When a man is buried, his weapons are placed in the grave with him, together with some meat and occasionally a little water, while a woman is buried with a few ostrich egg-shells, some berries and meat. As a rule the dead person's ornaments are also added, though amongst the tame Bushmen they may be removed. "This, however, is not

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 109–10; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 158.
[3] Vedder, "Kû-Buschmannsprache," 8; Lebzelter, "!Kuñ-Buschleuten," 14.

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often done, as they dislike touching or interfering in any way with a corpse, owing to the fear of bad luck." After the funeral they usually indulge in a funeral feast, then desert the locality, and never mention the dead person's name afterwards. "That they are much affected by death is certain, for they often weep at such times, especially if the deceased be a person of some importance, and bitterly lament his departure from amongst them." Signs of mourning are infrequent. Sometimes they paint their faces with white and black stripes as a sign that they have had a death in their encampment; and Dornan adds that he has heard of their painting the whole body with red and white stripes, but has never himself seen any thus decorated.[1]

Beliefs Concerning the Dead

All the accounts given above are admittedly inadequate. They agree, however, in stating that the dead person is buried in a contracted position with all his possessions, and in implying the absence of any elaborate and prolonged funeral ceremony and rites of mourning. No attempt appears to have been made to ascertain what explanation the Bushmen themselves have to offer for burying the dead person with all his possessions, except only in the case of the Kung, of whom we are told by Lebzelter that their reason for placing these objects in the grave is not that the dead person may be able to use them in the future world, but because people do not want to make any further use of objects belonging to a person whom they loved while he was alive.[2]

All the descriptions of the funeral ceremonies of the Bushmen point also to a vague fear of the dead person, expressed most forcibly in the fact that after the funeral the place is abandoned and perhaps never revisited. What belief underlies this fear, and what the Bushmen hold to be the fate of the dead, are not always easy to determine. Stow mentions the belief, reported to him of some Southern Bushmen, that at some undefined spot on the banks of the Orange River there is a place called *'too'ga*, to which after death they will all go; and that to ensure a safe journey there they all cut off the joint of the little finger of one hand. "This they consider is a guarantee that they will be able to arrive there without difficulty, and that upon their arrival they will be feasted with locusts and honey, while those who have neglected this rite will have to travel there upon their

[1] Dornan, *op. cit.*, 144–6. [2] *Op. cit.*, 14.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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775 water and eats it. The soul then dwells with him, but frequently comes down to earth again and kills a member "of the family which insulted it during its lifetime". The group in North-East Ondonga (Ovamboland) believe that the soul, */gaobu*, goes up into the sky, to the "house of God", and does not remain on earth; while the people of Ukuambi say that when a man is dead he becomes *xunga* and is divided into three parts: the decaying body, the ghost or shade, */gaua-i*, which goes about on earth and does mischief, and the real soul, *xaobe*, which goes to live in the house of the "great captain", and there feeds on flies.

Here, it will be noticed, the part of man surviving the death of the body is on the whole believed to fall into two separate entities, having different fates. The ghost (*//gauab*, */gaua-i*) remains on earth and in the vicinity of the grave, while the soul (*darish*, *xa*, */gau-ba*, */gaobu*, *xaobe*, the last four of which appear to be cognate forms of the same root) ascends to the "house of God" in the sky. The fate of the latter at once recalls the afterworld to which dead people are said to go by Stow and other writers on the Southern Bushmen; the former is obviously identical with the concept of *//gauwa* described by Miss Bleek for the Naron, Auen, and !O Kung. The word *//gauwa* among the North-Western tribes is, however, as we shall presently find, not restricted to the ghosts of dead persons. It is also used for a wider spiritual concept, and thus links up the beliefs concerning death with other aspects of Bushman religious belief.

In the Eastern Kalahari we meet again with the mention of an afterworld. Some of Dornan's informants said that after death the spirit of the deceased takes a long journey, and finally arrives at a certain place where he joins his fathers who have gone before him. They did not know the whereabouts of this place, but said that it is warm and has plenty of game. Other informants, however, asserted
775 that the spirits of the dead remain about the places where burials have
769 taken place. Hence the Bushmen avoid these localities as much as possible, and if they have occasion to pass them, "give them as wide a berth as possible, and often throw a small pebble on the grave, muttering at the same time some words to the spirit to ensure them good luck. This is to appease the spirit lest he might resent the intrusion. Any Bushman in the hunting field if he comes suddenly on a grave either of one of his own people, or other natives, will avoid stepping over it if he possibly can, and will throw a small stone upon it as above. All these observances indicate that they believe the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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spirit remains active about the place, and they do not want to offend it."[1]

The conflicting accounts of Dornan's informants as to the fate of the dead can be harmonized if we assume, in the light of Lebzelter's statements about the Kung and the Heikum, that these Eastern Kalahari Bushmen also distinguish between the soul and the ghost; but since there is nothing in Dornan's remarks to indicate definitely the existence of such a distinction, the assumption here made must be regarded as purely speculative. It will be noticed, further, that he describes here the practice of throwing a small stone on the grave in order to appease the spirit of the dead person. This practice, as we have already noted, has sometimes been said to exist among the Southern Bushmen also. Unfortunately it is not always possible to determine how far Dornan has recorded what are actually his own observations, for much in his book has obviously been inspired by the accounts of earlier writers on the Bushmen generally. What he has to say here must therefore also be received with caution, and cannot without further inquiry be accepted as an independent confirmation.

It appears on the whole that, among all the Bushmen, people are believed to continue their existence after death, sometimes in their own form, sometimes in another form, and may even manifest themselves to the living. There is also a vague, ill-defined fear of the dead person's haunting the living, but it would seem that as a rule no great harm is expected from this, although, as we shall see later, most of the North-Western tribes attribute sickness to the spirits of the dead. Another fact that emerges very prominently is the apparent absence of any organized cult of the dead as such—there seems to be nothing in the way of ancestor-worship, nor of any other form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated. The only concrete mention there is of dead people being prayed to refers to the Cape Bushmen. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that his father asked a certain dead magician for rain, which speedily followed; while another mentioned a prayer addressed by his mother to a dead magician who had power over game, in order that her husband's hunting might prove more fortunate.[2] The details given in both instances are too scanty to afford much basis for speculation, but can hardly be interpreted as implying more than that in certain cases dead magicians would be

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 147–8. [2] *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 21, 22.

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asked to make use of the special powers they had possessed in life and apparently still retained, just as they would be approached when alive. The main conclusion to be drawn, in fact, is that these Bushmen do not regard dead people as wholly severed from the world of the living. There is certainly nothing here to warrant the assumption of any regular organized worship of the dead.

Worship of Heavenly Bodies

Religious cult among the Cape Bushmen centres largely in the worship of the Heavenly Bodies, and especially of the Moon. Prayers directed by them to the Moon have been recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd, but unfortunately the details given are far too scanty to throw much light upon the nature of the worship. One account, indeed, indicates that when the New Moon first appears every man prays to it, and Orpen also mentions having seen Bushmen throw sand in the air and shout out on seeing the crescent moon when it first appeared, but there is nothing else to suggest any special form of rite. The prayers themselves are chiefly prayers for food, and one of them, just lately published by Miss Bleek,[1] may be quoted as illustrating the form of invocation. It is spoken with raised right hand :—

Ho, my hand is this,
I shoot a springbok with my hand
By an arrow.

I lie down,
I will early kill a springbok
To-morrow.

Ho, Moon lying there,
Let me kill a springbok
To-morrow,
Let me eat a springbok;
With this arrow
Let me shoot a springbok
With this arrow;
Let me eat a springbok,
Let me eat filling my body
In the night which is here,
Let me fill my body.

Ho Moon lying there,
I dig out ants' food
To-morrow,
Let me eat it.

Ho Moon lying there,
I kill an ostrich to-morrow
With this arrow.

[1] "Bushman Folklore," *Africa*, ii (1929), 306.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Here also the Mantis is the central figure of many myths; but at the same time he is the creator, he causes life or death, he is especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food and good luck in hunting, and he is also connected with certain religious dances at which the "initiated men" (probably the magicians) cure illness. The elaborate mythological character of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen and his association with so many other figures in these myths preclude an absolute identification of him and *Huwe*. The resemblance in other respects, however, appears on the whole to be striking enough to warrant our connecting the two.

The other outstanding conception is that of *//gaua*, *//gauab*, */gamab*, etc. In all the North-Western tribes the word *//gaua* is used in the first place for the ghosts of dead persons, and one cannot resist assuming that this is its fundamental significance. Among the Naron and Auen these ghosts, which as in all the other North-Western tribes can be seen by the magicians, walk about at night, and people are afraid of them, but not do expect real harm from them; among the Eastern Kung, however, all the *//gauab* are the cause of illness, some do mischief, while others come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead; among the Heikum of Ukuambi the ghosts move about on earth and do harm to people, while among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul goes to live with */gamab*, but may return to earth to kill people. In general therefore it would seem that dead people are regarded by the North-Western Bushmen as sources of injury, and especially as causing illness and even death. The same idea is conveyed by Dornan's statement, that the North-Eastern Bushmen avoid the grave of a dead person, "lest the spirit resent the intrusion."

The word *//gaua* is, however, used also in the sense of a personified being, whose attributes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but appear on closer analysis to show a certain uniformity. The !O Kung ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*; when anyone is killed by lightning they say "*//gaua* took him", and people who had met their death in this way were said to sit in the sky as stars, which are looked upon as "*//gaua*'s fires". Among the Eastern Kung the stars are also the fires of the *//gauab*, a shooting star heralds the death of someone, while lightning is the medium through which *Xu* punishes or kills people. Among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga *xamaba* (*/gamab*) inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like, while

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turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word *//gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as */hei /nun* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Huwe* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word *//Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard *//Gaunab* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 122.